

[p. 23a]

241 when maize begins to do poorly in a field, with small stalks and poor ears, barley is often planted for 1 year. This "warms up" the soil and good corn crops are secured for a few years.

243 Maize lands are plowed twice, the first time in late summer or fall, the second in late winter, the furrows of the second plowing being made at right angles to those of the first. Planting takes place in the spring after danger of frost is past; on the plain this is as early as March, but at higher elevations it may be later.

Three men and two yokes of oxen are used in planting. One yoke of oxen draws a plow which opens a furrow. A man follows this furrow, dropping seed each step and pressing it down with his foot. Two grains are dropped unless worms are bad, when three or four may be planted. Maize rows are about 1 vara (32 inches) apart. The second yoke of oxen draws a plow which makes a furrow between the planted rows, covering the seed to a depth of about 4 inches. To aid in covering the corn, the second plow has a wooden bow fastened horizontally below the beam behind the plow point. No digging stick is ever used except to replant fields damaged by worms, and all work is done by men. There is no exchange of labor or lending of tools or animals, even among relatives.

Several types of maize are grown. Trimásion is white with a somewhat larger grain and is sown in the "plains." It has more and larger stalks and ears. Tulukénio is yellow and has small grains. It is sown in the mountains about 8 to 15 days later, but matures at the same time as Trimásion. The ears are short, ordinarily about 4 inches in length, and the stalks are smaller. The fact that Tulukénio is always sown on poorer and colder lands probably accounts for most of the differences, although it is claimed that the differences persist when the two types are planted in the same fields. However, probably because of the methods of seed selection and the isolation of mountain fields, some regressive or primitive types occur in Tulukénio which may have genetic significance. Not enough Trimásion types have been studied to define the differences.

In the garden plots a black or dark-blue maize (tiráki) is planted. It appears to have some significant differences from Tulukénio,

243 only a few watchers are necessary. A pine
221 tree some 20 feet high is trimmed and set
674 firmly in the ground. The watchers climb this
and spend hours standing uncomfortably in the
crotches left by trimming the branches. Often
several families may cooperate in watching, or
several landowners may hire watchers, called
veladores.

243 When the ears are well formed, but while
246 stalks and leaves are still green, fodder
("rastrojo") is cut. All stalks without ears, and
the ear-bearing stalks above the ears, are cut,
dried, carried to the house, and stored in sheds.
This forms the principal fodder for animals.
The stalks remaining in the field are not cut
after the harvest, but animals are allowed to
graze the harvested fields.

243 The main work of harvesting is done by men.
[462] Women bring food to the men, and they also
glean, assisted by children. At harvest each
man takes two rows at a time. The ears are
picked, husked, and thrown in a round cane-
[482] splint burden basket (*šundis*) carried on the
[285] back with the aid of a tumpline. Ears which
miss the basket belong to the gleaners, who also
take the nubbins. When the basket is filled,
the corn is piled at convenient spots.

243 The harvest is the busiest time of year.
464 Except for a few specialists, the sick, and the
466 infirm, everyone works, either on his own har-
vest or as a laborer for someone else. Labor
also comes from other towns. Wages are 40
to 50 centavos a day, plus the right to glean.
Women and children follow the men of their
own household and close supervision is neces-
sary in order to prevent too many ears from
being dropped or overlooked. The workday is
about 7 hours. The larger landowners have
tried unsuccessfully to eliminate gleaning by
raising wages to 1 peso a day. Men refused to
work without gleaning rights, despite the opin-
ion of most objective observers that the maize
secured from gleaning had less value than the
additional wages. The landowners would have
saved through eliminating supervisors. When
the harvest is over, some farmers treat all their
help to a few drinks of *aguardiente* (*čaranda*).

243 Most of the harvest is carried to town and
492 the storehouses on burros. Nets are used to
hold the ears. Sometimes other animals are
[493] used, and for some fields employment of two-
wheeled oxcarts is possible, although they
are rarely used.

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243 good crop, although complete failure is rare. A little wheat is grown in town lots, where it seems to do better than in fields.

Wheat is harvested by hand with a sickle.
[462] Men do most of the work, but women and children help sometimes. The plants are cut as close to the ground as possible, tied in sheaves, and transported to the houses. One, and in 1940 two, small threshing machine is used in Cherán, but the bulk of the wheat is threshed by hand with flails. The flail used is a slender pole about 8 feet long. To this are fastened two or three heavy iron wires some 10 to 12 feet long. Threshing is done on any hard clean-swept ground when the weather is dry. One stone threshing floor exists at the end of Zaragoza Street. The owner is usually given a liter or so of wheat for its use, although it is built on public property. The straw is carefully saved, whether threshing is done by hand or by machine. Both men and women winnow [462] the wheat on windy days (pl. 3, center). The grain is stored in sacks.

Some wheat is consumed locally. It is 252 ground on the metate and made into bread or 439 atole. The bulk of the wheat is sold, however, to four mills at Purépero, Carapan, Tarataro, Jacona, or as far away as Morelia (since the highway has been built). Wheat is, indeed, probably the major cash export crop of Cherán. Prices and costs are discussed later.

MINOR CROPS

Barley.—Some barley is sown in June and harvested about October. Techniques of planting and harvesting are similar to those for wheat. Barley is fed to animals or sold outside the town. It is stored in sacks. Most barley is planted to restore failing cornlands, and the quantity is not important nor is it regarded as an intrinsically valuable crop.

Oats.—Although the growing of oats is reported, no farmer was found who had planted the grain. The quantity must be unimportant.

244 *Beans.*—The soil of Cherán is said not to be good for beans; possibly the climate is also unsatisfactory. Whatever the reason, Cherán grows few beans and many are imported from the Lake Pátzcuaro region.

The principal bean grown is a small pinkish type called *criolla*. White, orange-yellow,

- 24) orate ornaments of wheat straw at harvest time, which are hung on the veranda or inside the house. Beliefs about these ornaments were denied.

No beliefs or customs were discovered regarding other plants except those connected with roasting the wild agave.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

- 23) The domestic animals found in Cherán are cattle, horses, mules, burros, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, cats, chickens, pigeons, and bees. Of these, cattle, burros, sheep, and pigs are the most numerous and of greatest economic importance. Turkeys, ducks, and geese are completely lacking, although they are found in [184] other Tarascan towns. Sevina, for example, has a fair number of turkeys.

- 23) Cattle.—Ownership of cattle is widespread in Cherán, but accurate knowledge of the extent of ownership is impossible because of the tendency to conceal wealth. As most cattle are kept at pasture, usually in the mountains, house censuses are of no value. Possession of cattle seems to make little difference in the economic position of their owners. Wealthy men often own herds of some size which they do not appear to exploit to their fullest extent. Such men, though, probably gain some social prestige, for their bulls will be sought for use in the bull riding which forms an important part of the fiesta of the patron saint of Cherán.

- 23) Cattle are raised for several economic uses: meat, milk, draft animals, and sale outside the town. Somewhat different treatment is accorded animals raised for various purposes; consequently, separate discussion is indicated.

- 234) Relatively few cows are milked, and most families do not keep milk cows. There is no special breeding for milk cattle and a "very good" cow will not give over 2 liters of milk a day. The milk is sold in Cherán, usually for pregnant women or sick people, or it is made into cheese. Only a small part of the local demand for cheese is supplied in this fashion, however. No butter is made.

- [462] Milking is done only by men, but women clean the milk containers, make the cheese, and may care for the animals. Milking is done by primitive methods; the cow is tethered closely at the head and the hind legs are tied together.

- 23) *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are believed to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

- [825]
[314] Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

- 23) When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells [438] in Cherán at \$2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and [435] 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

- [442] All the work of caring for bees is done by men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women. [373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

294 tory. Palm leaf originates in Ario de Rosales,
 [439] whence it is transported to the market at
 [438] Paracho. Weaving of the straw into braid is
 done by women of the several small villages in
 the *municipio* of Paracho. The finished braid
 is sold in the Paracho market, the bulk of it
 going to the village of Jaracuaro on an island in
 Lake Pátzcuaro. The thread used for sewing
 the braid is an imported machine-made thread.

The tools of a hat maker include:

[413]

Sewing machine
 3 or 4 hat blocks
 Wooden paddle for blocking
 Smooth stone for blocking
 Wooden reel for thread (which is bought in
 skeins)
 Iron punch for ventilators
 Roller like a clothes-wringer for straightening
 and smoothing braid

The type of hat most commonly made has a
 low crown and broad brim. Each hat requires
 about three bundles of braid. The braid is
 sewn together in a spiral beginning at the mid-
 dle of the crown. Each spiral of the braid
 overlaps its predecessor about three-quarters or
 five-sixths of its width. One man, working
 steadily, can make about three hats a day, but
 no one in Cherán works steadily every day.
 [463] Essentially, hat making is a part-time occupa-
 tion. Some hat makers are also farmers, while
 one is also a "tailor." Another also operates
 a *nixtamal* mill. One hat maker employs an
 assistant who is said to be paid 50 centavos a
 hat. This is doubtful in view of hat prices and
 the cost of materials.

294
 386

Sometimes hats are whitened. They are
 first treated with glue, then successively coated
 with *oxido* (a crystalline material melted
 down), a white pigment (*blanco de sin*), and
 then a white varnish (*blanco de España*).
 None of these materials was further identified.
 The price obtained for hats varies with the
 thinness of the braid, fineness of the sewing,
 and the finish applied.

286
 531
 [463] *Embroidery, crochet, and drawn work.*—A
 number of women ornament women's blouses
 or make crocheted petticoat borders as a part-
 time occupation. Women's blouses are some-
 times equipped with crocheted yolks. Cro-
 cheted bands are also placed on the short blouse
 sleeves. Bands of embroidery for the bottoms

[p.43c]

322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
478 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax
is often bleached by exposure to the sun.
Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it
forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells
are removed and exposed to the sun for several
days until the wax becomes white. Although
the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for
no more than unbleached wax. The extra
[46] effort thus apparently results in an economic
loss, making the motivations for the work some-
what obscure. Although men do all other work
● [462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach
the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candle-
makers are reputed to live in Cherán. The
only one who could be located was always so
drunk at the time of interviewing that little
reliability can be attached to the data secured

333 scaffolding, and string to line up the walls. Perhaps a dozen men do masonry, mostly as a secondary occupation. Work is usually charged for on the basis of square meters of wall.

305 *Barbers.*—Most men in Cherán now have their hair cut by a barber. There are two barbers in town regularly, and more come to town during fiestas. The Cherán barbers also visit nearby towns during fiestas. During the middle of the week they have little trade.

Formerly men cut each other's hair for nothing in the bull ring on Sundays, using only scissors. The barbers have clippers as well and also razors for shaving, although there is not much demand for the latter. One barber is not a native; the other learned the trade in the United States.

312 *Water carriers.*—In most households the women bring the water from the fountain or
482 aqueduct in ollas carried on their shoulders.
462 However, for any commercial use (*nixtamal* mill, masonry, the threshing machine) water is carried by men. In addition, there is one man who makes his living carrying water for storekeepers, whose wives may be too busy helping in the store, and for a few families who are somewhat Mestizoized and the husband has decided the work is too hard for the women.

Interestingly enough, the men's method of water carrying is entirely different from that of the women. Men carry water in two 5-gallon cans suspended from the two ends of a pole which is supported on the shoulder. This rigid dichotomy is observed even in families where one of the men or boys brings the bulk of the water. If the women need to bring additional water, they always use ollas and make several trips.

FOOD PROCESSING AND DIET

128 Consideration of food processing in this section is confined primarily to household activities. Commercial processing of food for sale, such as baking, butchering, and ice cream making, will be considered later.

251 The storage of food is confined primarily to maize, wheat, beans, and broadbeans (*habas*). Except for small supplies for immediate use, stores are kept in the house, usually in the loft. Maize is stored on the cob. Wheat, beans, and similar seeds are stored in gunny sacks or in

[156] mally either refuse information or obviously
 423 lie about the size and value of their holdings.
 435 The only further evidence available on this
 point is an actual sale observed in which a
 price of \$40 was paid for about one-half hectare
 of wheat land. This piece was already planted
 to wheat and would yield about 2 *cargas*. On
 the other hand, \$400 was being asked for a
 hectare of the best maize land.

Residential lands almost always include a
 garden plot as well as a building site. Only in
 the center of town is this not true. Prices of
 residential land, however, vary sharply with
 location and, to a lesser extent, with the depth
 of the lot and the quality of soil. In the center
 of town shallow lots may be valued at as much
 as \$25 a meter frontage, while on the outskirts
 the price may be as low as \$10 a meter. The
 garden plot produces blue maize, vegetables,
 fruit, and sometimes wheat. Probably a num-
 ber of persons who were said to own land in
 Cherán actually own only a large residential
 plot, but this point was not investigated.

423 Forest lands are owned by the community.
 311 They serve as the source of firewood, lumber,
 and other forest products such as shakes and
 charcoal, and provide grazing for livestock; as
 sources of game or wild vegetable products
 their value is negligible.

311 The use of forest lands formerly was open to
 656 all who paid a small fee to aid the community
 to pay the Federal taxes on the land. Persons
 using the forest only for firewood paid less
 than did charcoal burners, lumbermen, or
 shakemakers. In recent years a permit from
 the Federal Department of Forestry has been
 required for any but household use, and efforts
 were being made to limit rights to members of
 a cooperative organization.

LABOR

462 The sex division of labor in Cherán bars
 women from most productive pursuits. Women's
 activities conform closely to the ideals laid
 down recently by a notorious central European
 —children, kitchen, and church. Women per-
 form all the household duties, such as cooking,
 sweeping, and washing, care for the children,
 make most of the clothes, carry water (but not
 firewood unless they have no close male rela-
 tives), and take food to their men at work.

- 462 They may gather herbs, make embroidered women's garments or paper flowers for sale, do the marketing for the household, and also most of the selling. If a woman's husband hires out as a laborer during harvest time, she gleans behind him in the field. There is no strong feeling against a woman who in emergency helps at her husband's work; but women actually have very little spare time.

Most productive activity in the ordinary sense, then, is performed by men. Men do all farm work, look after animals for the most part, do all forestry, and make most of the manufactured articles that enter into commerce. Distant trade is also carried on by men, although they may be accompanied by their wives, and women may go to Paracho or even Uruapan to sell herbs, fruit, vegetables, bread, tamales, or other prepared foods.

- 463 The bulk of the population of Cherán falls into two overlapping classes, farmers and laborers. Only a small minority utilize all their labor on their own land; even smaller is the number of farmers who employ no labor. Farmers, furthermore, may be divided into landowners and tenant farmers.

- 464 Farmers may also be storekeepers, traders, forest workers, or artisans in their spare time. In addition, they may hire out as laborers when they have free time. Indeed, most laborers have land or at least a garden plot. The labor supply of Cherán, in fact, is inadequate, and laborers are hired from neighboring villages, especially Nahuatzen. The standard wages are 45 centavos a day, but harvest hands receive 50 centavos a day plus the right to have their wives and children glean behind them, apparently a not insignificant factor, as the proposal of several large landowners to raise the harvest wage to \$1 a day and eliminate the gleaning privilege was rejected by the workmen. Variations in wages are discussed in connection with specific activities.

- 462 Bearing in mind that most men have some land, the list of occupations in Cherán is extensive, as shown in the following tabulation:

463

PRODUCTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

Farming
Hired labor
Shoemaking (few)

[p.616]

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- 463 Hat making (few)
 Plank making
 462 Shake making
 Cutting railroad ties
 Charcoal burning
 Blanket weaving (few)
 Broom-handle making (rare)
 Gathering *ruis de poja* (few)
 Wild-honey collecting (few)
 Bee keeping (few—one woman)
 Baking bread (one making *pan dulce*)
 Ice cream making (one)
 Brickmaking and tilemaking (rare)
 Carpentry (few)
 Wood turning (rare)
 Blacksmithing (rare)
 Masonry (few)
 Brush making (few)
 Painting and plastering (rare)
 Fireworks making (one)
 Tailoring
 Twine making (few)

Women

- Embroidering
 Belt weaving (few)
 Paper-flower making (rare)
 Herb gathering (rare)
 Gleaning
 Cloth weaving (one)
 Baking bread
 Tailoring
 Mat making (rare)

DISTRIBUTIVE OCCUPATIONS

Men

- Storekeeping
 Trading
 Selling at markets
 Butchering
 Transport

Women

- Storekeeping (helpers)
 Local food selling
 Selling at markets

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Men

- Grain threshing
 Operating *nixtomol* mills
 Barbering (few)
 School teaching (few)
 Billiard-hall operation (two)
 Marriage managing (few)
 Water carrying for pay (rare)
 All political offices¹
 All formal church offices¹
 All public works¹
*Mayordomías*¹
 Musician
Resadores (men who pray)

463 Ritual dancing¹
 Sorcery

462

Women

Midwifery
 Domestic service (rare)
 Curing
 School teaching (rare)
 Minor church services¹
 Ritual dancing (pastorela only¹)
 Sorcery

¹ Occupations without pay; some involving outlay of money to participate. Women's household duties are not listed. Elsewhere the distribution of women's time is discussed (p. 197).

565 Information from day laborers on the whole
 464 was unsatisfactory. Not only are they sensitive about their position, but there is some condescension toward them on the part of landowners despite the lack of explicitly drawn class lines. When an older man jestingly suggested that one of our local assistants should get in practice to carry a harvest basket, the young man replied that he didn't intend to carry a harvest basket, or plow either. "That is what you have *peons* for," he said.

465 Information about day laborers indicated a return of from 40 to 50 centavos a day, depending on season and labor. Some workers also do work by the job. Men employed to thresh wheat will sometimes get about 1½ centavos a liter. The most accurate-sounding informant, a man from Nahuatzen, estimated he could thresh 80 liters a day, a return of about \$1.20 a day. This seems high, but one informant produced estimates which would have him earning \$25 a day.²¹

464 Unemployment for laborers usually comes about the same time as the slack season for farmers, January and July. Often workers will take a vacation in this period. The more energetic will seek work at this time—bring in building stones, work in the woods, try for odd jobs about town, bring in firewood for themselves or for sale, or fatten a pig for sale. One of the storekeepers evidently will pay \$2.50 a dozen for building stones delivered at his store
 (465) for later resale. Pine firewood can be sold
 (435) usually at four sticks for 1 centavo, oak at three sticks for 1 centavo.

²¹ In Angahuan, Rendón found similar situations. Building fences pays 50 centavos a day without meals. Other field work, however, is never paid in money. Harvest workers receive three *medidas* of maize, and breakfast and dinner. Ox-team drivers receive two *medidas* of maize and meals.

439 to be mentioned pottery from Guanajuato (and even from Oaxaca), dried meat from *tierra caliente*, cattle, and horses. Machinery and tools made in industrial establishments include axes, saws, hoes, hatchets, plow points, engines (for *nixtamal* mills), sewing machines, flat irons, and, quite rarely, radios, phonographs, typewriters, and trucks. The functioning of the principal distributive agencies will now be examined in some detail.

TRADERS

441 A fair number of men in Cherán who engage
439 in trade are known as *arrieros* or *viajeros*. Whether there is any distinction between the two is uncertain. The impression received—and it is no more than an impression—is that originally the *arrieros* traveled to distant places outside of Tarascan territory, while the *viajeros* traded among the local villages. At present the two terms seem to be used as synonyms.

In the town voting register a number of men are listed as *arrieros*. Nevertheless, so far as could be learned, none of them dedicates all his time to trade. At the same time, there were numerous other men listed as farmers or laborers, yet who make fairly regular trading trips. The main distinction seems to be that a man listed as an *arriero* ordinarily makes about three long trips a year, while other men may make only one. Some men who make fairly regular short trips are not listed as traders. For example, one man who carries palm leaves regularly to the Paracho market is not included.

The main season for trading is from late fall until June, that is, the dry season. The principal routes followed for long trips are to Guerrero, Coalcomán, and Colima. A good many shorter trips may be taken to local fiestas, especially the great fiesta and market at San Juan Parangaricutiro. In addition, some men go to Guadalajara and Celaya for goods to carry to Guerrero. Finally, a long trip usually involves a number of short local trips around Cherán, either to purchase goods for transport to the *tierra caliente* or to dispose of merchandise brought back.

7
[462] The *arrieros* are all men, with a single exception (reported but not seen). Wives, however, frequently accompany their husbands. Sickness is the greatest hazard. Women are

[P.83a]

Sierra Tarascans

Mestizo

TABLE 6.—Products and number of vendors in the market at Paracho, 1940—Continued

Product	Number of vendors co—					
	Sept. 1	Sept. 29	Oct. 20 ¹	Nov. 3	Nov. 24	Dec. 29
Juguetes de losa (pottery figurines)...		3	8	13	1	
Lana (wool).....					1	
Lechuga (lettuce).....		1				
Limas y limones (lemons and limes).....	8	17	7	15	13	7
Loquats.....				1		
Losa (pottery).....	9	1		64	5	2
Macate (maguey fiber string).....			1			
Mandile (aprons).....	4					
Manitas (blankets).....	1			16	2	
Manzanas (apples).....	22	37	8			
Maize (corn).....	6		1			
Macetas (flowerpots).....					1	
Madroño berries.....						1
Mamey (a fruit).....					1	
Mascaras (masks).....		2	1			
Masa (maize dough).....		1				
Mazorca (maize ears).....				1		
Medias (stockings).....						2
Miscelanea (cheap jewelry and no- tions).....		1	19	4	8	1
Molineros (chocolate beaters).....				1		
Morales (bags).....				1		
Mostacillas (beads).....	1					
Muebles (furniture).....	2					
Naranjas (oranges).....	5	11	1	22	21	3
Nieve (ice cream).....		1	1	1	2	2
Nueces (nuts).....	3					
Orange plum.....				1		
Palma tejida (bait braid) ²					1	
Pan (bread).....	6	26	26	29	26	17
Pan de huevo (cake).....						2
Pan con miel (bread with honey).....			10			
Pan dulces (cookies).....				1		
Papas (potatoes).....	1	8	6	2	5	2
Paraguas de paja (straw raincoats).....	3					
Peluqueros (barbers).....				4		
Pera (pears).....	18	14				
Pescado (fish).....		12	5	1	13	6
Petates (mats).....		1		2	4	1
Platan (bananas) ³	5	4	1	19	3	2
Plumas (pens).....				3		
Pulque.....				8	1	
Queso (cheese).....	1	17	9	8	8	2
Rebocos (shawls).....	4	11	15		21	11
Redes (nets).....		1				
Rerapes (blankets).....	2	4	2	1	7	8
Servietas (napkins).....					1	
Sigras (a fruit).....						
Silantro semilla (seed for flavoring).....	2	5	1	4	4	
Sillas (chairs).....				3		
Sombreros (hats).....	1	2	1	1	2	2
Socladores (fire fans).....		1				
Sweaters.....						1
Tamales.....				23		1
Tejocotes (wild crab apples).....	5	5				2
Tela (cloth and clothing).....	2			2		2
Tela de lana (wool yardage).....			7			
Tesquiquite.....				2		10
Tomates (small huak tomatoes).....	10	36	26	19	8	
Toronja (grapefruit).....	2					3
Tortillas.....					3	1
Tunas (prickly pears).....	4		3		4	1
Uakinikin (nut).....	1					
Violina (violin).....	-1					
Yelas (candles).....			3			
Yerba buena (mint leaves).....	1	1				
Yerbas (herbs).....	1				1	
Yellowfruit.....		1		1		
Yams.....					1	
Zanhorias (carrots).....			2			1
Zapatos (shoes).....	1	3	8	3	9	7

¹ Fiesta of Santa Ursula.² An obvious error. Braid vendors were present every Sunday, but had no stands.

and three sold dry goods. A line of women sold atole and kurundas, the yellow Tarascan tamale.

439 The Mestizo town of Chilchota has a market
 443 on Sunday which is not notably different from
 443 a medium-size Tarascan market. Indeed, as
 462 this is the market town for La Cañada, prob-

ably a majority of the attendants are Tarascans. Rendón, who collected the data, observes that there is a fairly clear sex division in market activities. Prepared foods are always sold by women. Sugarcane, medicinal herbs, pulque, and *ocote* (pitch pine) are almost always sold by men. Such things as lime, sweetmeats, and pottery are usually sold by women, although men may sell them. Vegetables are usually sold by women, while fruits may be sold by either sex. In general, selling is done mostly by the women. Buying, on the other hand, seems equally divided between men and women. Merchandise sold on two different market days (dates not given, but probably in February 1940) is shown in table 7. The organization of the market is shown in figure 11.

TABLE 7.—Goods sold at two markets at Chilchota

Goods sold	Number of vendors in—	
	Market A	Market B
Sugarcane.....	15	12
Cooked agave (mescal).....	8	0
Green tomatoes.....	2	5
Ripe tomatoes.....	6	0
Green chile.....	0	3
Dry chile.....	7	7
Cabbage.....	3	4
Cooked chayote.....	8	6
Cooked chayote root.....	10	8
Cooked squash.....	3	8
Cooked sweetpotato.....	1	0
Dried meat.....	0	0
Greens.....	1	2
Limes and oranges.....	3	2
Cherimoyas and other fruit.....	6	8
Peanuts.....	6	0
Lemon-leaf tea and nurite.....	1	0
Sweets.....	2	3
Pulque.....	0	6
Sweet tamales.....	12	10
Flour tamales.....	6	4
Regular tamales (kurúndas).....	12	6
Medicinal herbs.....	1	2
Soaproot.....	1	1
Salt and lime.....	4	4
Pitch pine.....	2	0
Pottery.....	6	11
Total.....	130	123

CONSUMPTION

The most important type of consumption in Cherán is that occurring in the family. Obviously, the consumption of raw material and semifinished goods in manufactures is significant, but the essential data regarding this have already been presented in the previous discussions. Likewise, there are many aspects of consumption related to various cultural activities dealt with in later discussions. Special types of consumption occur in connection with the life crises, especially mar-

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593 Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cultures, there exist households in which there are continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

[598]

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

512 Within the household certain routines and habits are common. Labor is rather strictly divided along sexual lines also. For example, 593 the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at [462] 1, and sups at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

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5/2 unmarried men may not come home until 9 or
5/7 10 o'clock, when the family is in bed, and they
feed themselves with cold food left for them.

5/2 On Monday the men and young men go to
462 the fields or to the mountains between 7 and 9
o'clock, after eating a breakfast which always
includes tortillas and chile and likely includes
remnants of the previous day's meal such as
sopa de tortilla. If the men are going out all day
and the place is distant, they take a lunch. If
the place is nearby, wives carry lunch to their
menfolk. Women will take maize to the mill
and carry whatever water is needed during the
morning. They may also buy some vegetables
at the market, although most will have done
this at the Saturday market. They may shop
for meat and other needed items at the store.
The main housework will be sweeping and put-
ting the sleeping mats in the "*troje*." Then
the woman will start work on the midday meal
for herself and children (earlier if she is to
take dinner to the fields, which she will do if
her husband is working within an hour's walk).
This meal is apt to be quite simple if the hus-
band is not home. Some women make tortillas
before dinner and again before supper. Others
will eat warmed up tortillas for dinner. After
dinner, following about an hour's rest, these
women will make up a supply of tortillas suffi-
cient to last 24 hours. An older daughter may
be set at this work. In any case, probably 2
hours will be put in making tortillas and pre-
paring supper. Men who went for firewood
will probably be home as early as 4 o'clock,
others not until 5 or 5:30, while those who had
to look for a strayed animal or who are delayed
for other reasons may come in after dark.
The men of the family will eat together; the
women and children usually eat together but
after the men. Before he eats, a man may
have to water and feed his animals, unless
there is a small boy who can do it.

5/7 After supper a man will often go out on the
5/2 street for about an hour to loaf and talk to
friends. Young men will go out and stay
longer; they are usually the last to bed. Small
children are put in bed about 8 o'clock.

5/2 Some families vary the schedule given above.
462 In a fair number of cases the men of the family
rise before the women and go to the fields
without breakfast. The woman in this case

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512 usually takes the maize to the mill or grinds
462 it herself, in the meantime making atole. The
men return about 10 for breakfast (*almuerzo*).
Usually the women and children already have
eaten, but some women wait until their hus-
bands have eaten.

Tuesday, men go out as on Monday. Women
may wash clothes on Tuesday, in which case
they leave home at 8 and do not return until
about 2. There is no regular wash day for all
of Cherán, but each woman usually has a
regular wash day. Customarily women bathe
when they wash clothes.

512 Subsequent days of the week until Saturday
are much the same, the main variation being in
the time of washing. Some younger girls and
[469] boys go to church between 11:30 and 1 o'clock
for doctrinal training from Monday through
Friday. About a fourth of the younger boys
also go to school.

[517] Saturday the men come home early, usually
by 3:30. They loaf about street corners, the
plaza, billiard parlors, and saloons. There is
a small market in the plaza and women shop
and talk there between about 5 and 7. Some-
times a man sees his wife at the plaza and goes
home with her, or seeing her leave he may
follow a few minutes later. Saturday night
supper is the best meal of the week. It features
fish, if possible, and there may be special treats
such as fruit, peanuts, cherimoyas, sugarcane,
avocados, or other items, depending on the
season. Supper is late, often between 8 and 10,
and the family goes to bed soon afterward.

512 In some ways the activities of men are less
462 varied and complex than those of the women.
A man works at his fields or his trade as it is
necessary. When slack time occurs, he goes
for firewood or does odd jobs about the house.
He serves on the *ronda* or night watch and does
other municipal jobs when called upon to do so.
In his free time he may sit about home or go
out on the streets or to the plaza.

517 It would be a mistake to assume, however,
159 that the man's life is an unending cycle of labor,
broken only by Saturday afternoons and Sun-
days. Young men, of course, spend more time
in recreation than do older people. Agustín
Rangel, who probably represents a somewhat
extreme case, remembered the following
activities:

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517

Octava, 4 days
 Corpus, 4 days
 Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day (got drunk)
 San Juan, 1 day
 San Pedro, 1 day (wife's father had a little
 fiesta; got drunk)
 Nahuatzen fiesta, 1 day
 San Francisco fiesta, Cherán, 4 days
 Wedding, 1 day
 Wedding, 1 day
 Negrito dancers, watched 1 day
 Wedding, 1 day
 Funerals, remembers two, but not certain.

Aside from the funerals, this informant remembers spending over 24 days in entertainment during the year. Agustín, on the other hand, spent 41 days (aside from the time after he first arrived in town), at least 6 days being spent at weddings and 8 days in dancing. From various information collected, it seems reasonable to believe that most men spend at least 20 days in weddings, fiestas, and similar entertainment, while young men probably exceed this figure.

462 Women, in general, work longer hours at more varied tasks and with numerous interruptions. 312 While women also attend fiestas and weddings in Cherán, they are less apt to go elsewhere. Moreover, even on fiesta days there are meals to prepare and water to carry. Women's work, however, is essentially more social. Water carrying is almost a ritual, as is going to the mill with the maize. Water is almost always carried in special decorated and polished ollas used for no other purpose. Water is dipped out of the fountain in the plaza, the tank at the end of the pipe line, or out of the hollow logs of the aqueduct. The ollas are always carried on the left shoulder on top of the rebozo, which forms a sort of pad. Women often go in groups after water and the task is frequently an occasion for meeting friends and talking. Taking maize to the mill is less formalized behavior, but it, too, is a social occasion, which may take 15 minutes and may take an hour, depending on the time of day and the number of friends encountered. Most women prefer to go at a rush hour when they have to stand in line, because they meet so many friends.

461 The best picture of women's activities may be presented by giving a number of actual 462

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461 cases. Women's work varies greatly with the
 size of the family and the age of the children.
 462 Most women had no clear idea of the time
 spent, and the following figures are guesses
 given under some pressure.

CASE 1

(3 adults in family.)

	Hours
Going to mill.....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Carrying water (3 ollas in morning, 2 in afternoon)	1 or 2
Making tortillas	1 or 2
Other food preparation	2 or 3
Washing clothes and taking bath on Wednesdays	5
Sweeping (not every day)	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
Marketing	$\frac{1}{2}$
Shelling corn:	
Green	$\frac{1}{4}$
Dry	$\frac{1}{4}$
Visiting neighbors	Variable
Resting	Variable
Minimum daily schedule	6
Total waking hours	13

CASE 2

(Family of 8; two girls, one about 8, one about 13.
 Woman helps in store owned by family in spare time
 but both girls help, take maize to the mill, etc. Follow-
 ing is estimate of the day preceding the interview.)

	Hours
Going to mill	$\frac{1}{4}$
Shelling corn	2
Making tortillas	2
Carrying water (met friends)	2
Washing clothes (Friday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	$\frac{1}{4}$
Marketing (longer if she meets friends)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Food preparation	3
Care of children	No idea
Visiting friends—does not go out, friends visit her in store	None
Estimated total on ordinary days (not including work in store and caring for children)	10

CASE 3

(Family of 6; 4 children, all big enough to care for
 themselves; woman also helps in store.)

	Hours
Mill	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
Making tortillas	4
Carrying water (3 or 4 ollas)	1
Ironing (Friday or Saturday)	2
Sweeping (daily)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Marketing	$\frac{1}{2}$
Food preparation	3

Daily minimum, about..... 10

[p. 1986]

461 In addition to above, washes 1 day a week, 7 hours.
Also goes occasionally to Paricutin for an hour to inter-
view a debtor.

462 Waking hours, about..... 15

CASE 4

(A widow. Several adults in family; woman assisted by daughter-in-law.)

	Hours
Making tortillas	$\frac{1}{2}$
Carrying water (10 ollas with assistance of daughter-in-law)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Cooking	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Sweeping (twice a week)	$\frac{1}{4}$
Marketing (average)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Shelling corn	$\frac{1}{4}$

Daily minimum 4 to 5

In addition, washing and bathing on Wednesday consume 6 to 7 hours. On Thursdays the informant goes to the Paraje to gather herbs, about a 2-hour trip each way. From Saturday to Monday the informant is in Uruapan selling the herbs.

CASE 5

(3 adults in family.)

	Hours
Water carrying, 5 to 7 ollas morning and afternoon (estimate) ..	1
Tortillas, morning and afternoon (total)	2
Shelling corn—buys it shelled	
Going to mill	$\frac{1}{4}$ to 1
Marketing	$\frac{1}{4}$
Food preparation	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
Sweeping (once a week)	$\frac{1}{4}$
Washing and bathing every Thursday, about	5

Daily minimum, about..... 5

Despite the few hours appearing in the statement, the informant said she had little time to rest.

CASE 6

(3 people in family.)

	Hours
3 ollas of water, morning and afternoon ..	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
Tortillas	1
Going to mill	$\frac{1}{4}$ to 1
Shelling corn	$\frac{1}{4}$
Sweeping	$\frac{1}{4}$
Food preparation	1
Marketing	$\frac{1}{4}$ to 1
Resting	1 to 2

Daily minimum (exclusive of rest period) about $5\frac{1}{4}$

Visits neighbors a little.

Clothes washing 8 a. m. to 1 p. m., Tuesdays.

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CASE 7

(3 people in family.)

	Hours
Tortillas ($\frac{1}{2}$ hour morning and afternoon)	1
Going to mill	$\frac{1}{2}$
Carrying water, 3 ollas, twice a day ..	$\frac{1}{2}$
Preparing food	$\frac{1}{2}$
Marketing	$\frac{1}{2}$
Sweeping	$\frac{1}{2}$
Shelling corn	$\frac{1}{2}$
Visiting mother daily	1
Care of child	2 to 3
Resting	$\frac{1}{2}$

Daily minimum (exclusive of rest periods) about

5

Washing and bath, Fridays, about 4 hours.

CASE 8

(4 people in family.)

	Hours
Tortillas, morning and afternoon, total ..	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Going to mill	$\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$
Carrying water (5 to 7 ollas daily) ..	$\frac{1}{2}$
Preparing food	$\frac{1}{2}$
Sweeping (twice a week)	$\frac{1}{2}$
Marketing	$\frac{1}{2}$
Shelling corn	$\frac{1}{2}$
Resting	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
Visiting, not every day	1

Daily minimum (exclusive of resting and visiting)

 $5\frac{1}{2}$

Washing and bath, Wednesdays, 9 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m.

None of the women interviewed were too poor to pay for having their maize ground. If they had ground their own maize on the metate, the hours of labor would have been materially increased.

576 In addition to learning the techniques of earning a living and acquiring the necessary sense of responsibility to manage one's affairs, adult life usually requires the learning of a number of rules of behavior. Adults should know that it is never proper to enter a house yard without an invitation, even though it be unfenced. Visitors knock on the gate or call out until an invitation is given. Usually someone comes to the gate to inquire what is wanted, unless the person is very well known. Men are never invited in unless the man of the household is present. If one calls on a person about business, one always stands and talks about other things for a bit first.

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244 special uses: e. g. because of its sweet flavor, it is eaten only with silacayote (*Cucurbita ficifolia*); in Ihuatzio it is ground with black maize to make pinole.

Lima beans (*P. lunatus*) may have been common formerly in Tarascan agriculture in the *tierra caliente*. In Acahuato, a former Tarascan pueblo (5 km. north of Apatzingán), a climbing brown-seeded lima called *comba* is still grown in the house-lot gardens. According to local informants, it was formerly an important bean in the Tepalcatepec Basin.⁷² Moreover, the writer found a wild climbing lima in the hedge rows in the *tierra templada*, near Los Reyes.

Cultivation methods.—Except in some highly developed irrigation districts, most Mexican peasant farmers still use the ancient Indian method of planting beans with maize. In plowland Tarascans customarily alternate plantings of beans and corn along a given row (planted *intercalado*), whereas in hoe land beans and maize seeds are dropped in the same hole.⁷³ In either case the bean vine uses the maize stock as a climbing support, and imparts nitrogen to the soil. Beans are gathered in late fall or in early winter a few days before the maize harvest. When men are busy at other tasks, women and children gather the bean crop. Women sometimes plant beans with *elote* maize in the ekuáru; or often they plant beans alone, using poles for vine supports.

In many Tarascan pueblos bean production is declining; in some, farmers have ceased its cultivation. They claim that it is cheaper to buy *frijol* rather than to plant it, since the time and labor involved can be used more profitably at other tasks (e. g. lumbering). Others say that the soil lacks sufficient fertility to mature a bean crop. Again, in some sections of the Sierra beans are cultivated (with maize) only in newly cleared *desmontes*, where the ash from burned brush strengthens the soil sufficiently to raise one crop.

[252] *Use of frijol.*—Beans are used exclusively for human food. They are boiled in *ollas* and served with salt. Tamales filled with beans are not uncommon. The special uses of *kokó* have been mentioned above.

⁷² Hendricks (1945-46, vol. 1, pp. 46, 238) reports a bean called "combs" from the Balsas Basin, but identifies it as *P. coccineus*. The "combs" from Acahuato was identified as *P. lunatus* by Dr. R. W. Allard, College of Agriculture, University of California, Davis, Calif.

⁷³ In both cases the planter carried two bags (*marrales*), one containing maize seed, the other, beans.

[P. 45a]

243 December. Being more tolerant of poor soils and frost than either maize or wheat, it is customarily grown on the upper slopes. As it is believed that barley improves the soil, it is frequently rotated with maize. Much barley is sown on the high slopes around Cumachuén and Pichátaro, where yellow-brown soils and a short-growing season prevail. Oats are rarely cultivated; small fields were reported only in Pichátaro and Cumachuén.

244 *Other European field crops.*—Broadbeans, lentils, and chickpeas are cultivated chiefly around Lake Pátzcuaro and in the northern plateau pueblos, where they are often grown with maize.

[262] Although small quantities are raised in the Sierra, these crops have little place in the native diet.

HORTICULTURE

The house-lot gardens (*ekuáruca*).—These have been frequently mentioned above (pl. 7). In contrast to field agriculture, cultivation in the *ekuáru* is intensive; a large variety of plants (maize, beans, squash, vegetables, and fruits) are raised in each small lot; the soil is replenished by application of refuse from the dwelling and manure from the stable. The *ekuáru* is cultivated mainly by the women and children of the household; the fields, in contrast, are worked by the men. In the gardens the women, always conservative, have retained the plants that are old in indigenous culture. Moreover, although some of the larger lots are plowed with oxen, most are cultivated with two of the present forms of the *tarákua*: the wooden *pala* and the metal-bladed *asada*.

The principal garden crop is the *elote* maize, discussed above in connection with corn types. The cultivation of the old beans, such as *kokóf*, small patches of amaranth, and various squashes in the *ekuáru*, has also been mentioned. The women plant in the garden other indigenous vegetables, such as chayote (*apúpu*; *Sechium edule*);²² *tomate* (*tóma*; *Physalis angulata*), which bears the small green husk-enclosed tomatoes; and, if water is available for irrigation, chiles of various types. The most significant vegetable grown in the Tarascan house gardens, however, is the

²² The chayote bears annually small squashlike fruits, which are boiled and served with chile. In its third year the plant develops a large tuberous root, which is dug up and boiled (*nasáa*) and is often ground on the metate to a flour, which is served as a gruel (*magú*). The plant is reproduced by seed, or rather by planting the entire chayote fruit.